

1936

An Investigation
of Housing Conditions
OF
War Workers in Cleveland

Made by the
Committee on Housing and Sanitation
of
The Cleveland Chamber of Commerce
and by
The United States Home Registration Service

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*To the Board of Directors of
The Cleveland Chamber of Commerce.*

Gentlemen: Your committee on housing and sanitation herewith submits a report of an investigation made of the housing conditions of industrial workers of the City of Cleveland, with special reference to those employed in war industries.

A year ago your committee, realizing that the shortage of housing in Cleveland was becoming increasingly acute and that the only adequate method of meeting it was the building of more houses, was active in the formation of The Cleveland Real Estate and Housing Company. This company was incorporated for the specific purpose of meeting the shortage of working-men's houses, either by building them itself, by financing approved building agencies, or by cooperating with the federal government in building.

It soon became evident that the government would occupy or control the entire field in industrial housing. To secure its help it was necessary to present accurate figures based upon a complete and authorized survey of the whole industrial housing situation in the city.

May 8th, therefore, the committee on housing and sanitation presented a report and recommendations to the board of directors of the Chamber of Commerce, asking that the Chamber request an appropriation of five thousand dollars from the Mayor's Advisory War Committee for making a housing survey. The report and recommendations were approved by the board of directors.

May 10th the request for the appropriation was presented by the Chamber of Commerce to the Mayor's Advisory War Committee and allowed, with the stipulation that the report be made under the direction of the Chamber of Commerce.

About June 1st the survey was commenced. It has been made under the direction of Miss Mildred Chadsey of the School of Applied Social Science of Western Reserve University. Dr. C. E. Gehlke, of the same institution, compiled and tabulated the statistical data. The report is herewith submitted.

July 22nd the field agents of the United States Bureau of Housing and Transportation, of the Department of Labor, asked the Chamber of Commerce to organize a Cleveland branch of the Homes Registration Division of the Bureau, for the purpose of registering the vacant rooms which could be used for housing

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war workers, and to set up a room renting bureau for such workers. A committee was organized with the advice of the Chamber of Commerce. The chairman is Mr. Paul L. Feiss, the secretary Mr. Louis A. Moses.

August 23rd the financial responsibility of the Cleveland Homes Registration Bureau was assumed by the Mayor's Advisory War Committee.

August 29th the vacant room canvass was begun. Its findings are so correlated with the whole survey of housing conditions of war workers and its findings so substantiate and complete the first report that they have been attached to the survey and are herewith submitted as part of this report.

The Cleveland Homes Registration Bureau is now the representative of the Cleveland District of the federal government in all matters of housing for war workers. It has broad powers and ample funds. Its Placement Bureau has established an office at Room 106 City Hall, adjacent to the Federal Employment Bureau, with which it will work in close cooperation. The war worker who is supplied with a position will be directed to the next door if he desires a room or house in the vicinity of his work.

Your committee on housing and sanitation has informed Mr. Otto M. Eidlitz, president of the United States Housing Corporation, that it will be glad to perform any further service asked of it by the Government, but that in order to prevent duplication it will cease initiating work and will await instructions.

Your committee is indebted—

First, to the Mayor's Advisory War Committee for financial and moral support.

Second, to the following organizations, representatives of which have given freely of their time to assist in the work of the survey, or have supplied information of value:

Board of Education.
City of Cleveland Board of Elections.
City of Cleveland City Engineer.
City of Cleveland Division of Buildings.
City of Cleveland Division of Health.
City of Cleveland Division of Water.
Cleveland Real Estate Board.
Cleveland Welfare Federation.
County Auditor.
Goodrich Social Settlement.
Hiram House.
Negro Welfare Federation.
Spanish War Veterans.
Van Sweringen Company.
Young Men's Christian Association.
Young Women's Christian Association.

Third, to the thousand or more men and women who gave such willing and efficient volunteer service in making the house to house canvass of the city.

Fourth, to the men and women who worked so faithfully in collecting and tabulating the information procured.

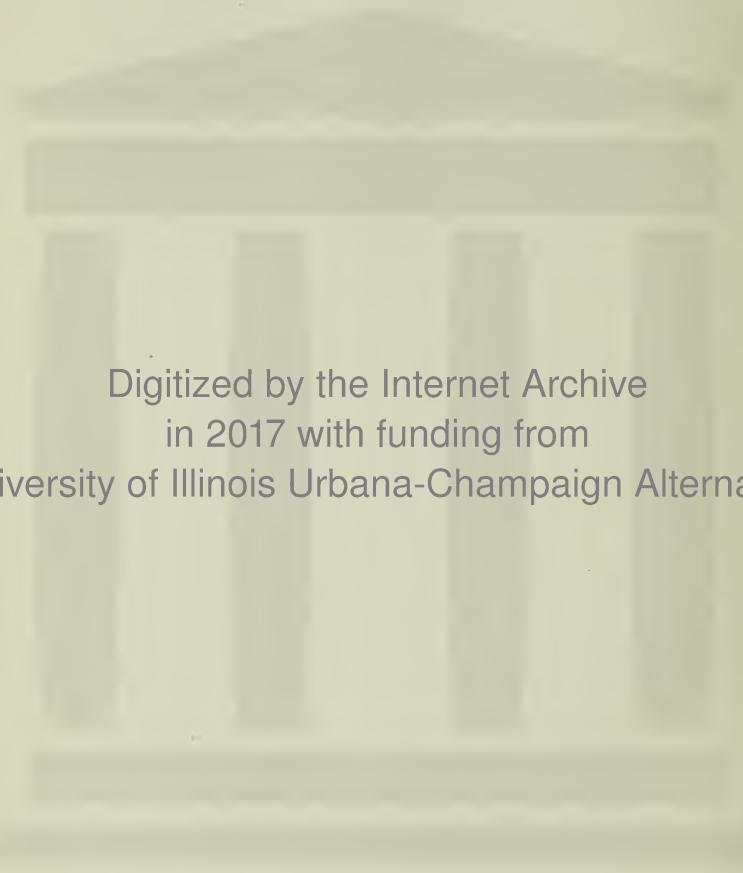
Respectfully submitted,

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COMMITTEE ON HOUSING AND SANITATION,

By PAUL L. FEISS, Chairman.

October 28th, 1918.



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I. SCOPE AND METHOD.

Usually an investigation of the housing conditions of a community has undertaken to show from records of mortality, morbidity and law violation, the amount of death, sickness, crime and delinquency that is or may be attributed to bad housing. This investigation has taken such results of bad housing to be self-evident, having been established here and in every other city where such correlations have been made. This report attempts rather to show what relation poor or inadequate housing has upon production of war munitions. Obviously if bad housing produces inefficiency and immorality and breeds tuberculosis and other contagious diseases, it affects production of industry by rendering those who are its victims incapable of work. For that reason we have not sought industrial workers in those section of the city that admittedly have the worst housing conditions except possibly in one section. We have rather attempted to find what effect conditions of living have upon industrial production.

The report is based upon schedules that include 80,000 persons or approximately ten per cent of the population. These schedules were procured from three sources—a house to house investigation, a lodging house investigation and from schedules distributed to employers and employees in factories.

A. SOURCES.

1. THE HOUSE TO HOUSE INVESTIGATION.

Records were taken from 6,292 houses and included 14,688 families and 69,894 persons representing 44 nationalities.

The districts that were included in the house to house investigation were chosen first because workers in essential war industries lived in these districts, second because of their geographic distribution in the city, and third because they included the various nationalities of the city's population. In some of the districts the investigation was made for only the industrial workers in those districts.

2. LODGING HOUSE AND BUNK HOUSE INVESTIGATION.

In addition to the house to house investigation records were taken from seventy lodging houses, that is, houses in which there are more than ten lodgers, and from twenty-eight bunk houses. In both of these two types of houses there were 1,705 male wage earners, including twenty-five nationalities.

3. FACTORY SCHEDULES.

Employers in 159 factories that were working on government contracts replied to questionnaires that were sent them. Also, 7,618 male industrial workers from nineteen factories that were working on government contracts filled out individual schedules.

Regarding the accuracy and validity of the information secured from the above sources, we believe that the data reported on the house to house cards is accurate with the possible exception of some of the more detailed information regarding the lodgers, such as length of time in Cleveland, because this information was generally given by the woman of the house in the absence of the lodgers.

The factory schedules were, for the most part, filled out by the workers themselves, and as only those who could read and write English were able to fill out the schedules, and of that group only those who so desired did fill out the schedules, it is evident that they represent a selected group. Consequently all conditions reported on the factory schedules are, as we would expect, a degree better than those reported on the other schedules.

4. HOUSE AND ROOM CANVASS.

The house and room canvass which was done under separate auspices but included as a part of this report, included Lakewood and East Cleveland and the entire City of Cleveland with the following exceptions:

- Ward 1—Precincts A, B, C, D, P and part of E.
- Ward 7—Precincts D, E, H, K, O, R, Q.
- Ward 9—Precincts A, B, C, E, H, K, L, Q.
- Ward 12—Precincts A, C, D, E, F, H, I, J, K, L, N, O, P.
- Ward 19—Precincts A, B, C, D, E, F, G, H, I, J.
- Ward 25—All precincts.

The above precincts that were omitted included about eleven per cent of the population. With the exception of Ward 25, which was omitted because it included some of the best residence districts in the city and did not hold any possibilities of housing war workers, these districts were omitted because they were included in part or in whole in the house to house investigation of housing conditions of war workers. Such overcrowding had been found in them, both room, house and district overcrowding, that it was considered undesirable to include them in this canvass and thus to seem to encourage more overcrowding in these areas.

This canvass included more than 150,000 visits to houses and apartments and included practically all of Cleveland that was not included in the investigation of housing conditions of war workers.

In addition to the above sources of information we have used statistics of the Bureau of Labor Statistics of the U. S. Department of Labor and the U. S. Census Bureau, and such available information as could be supplied by those to whom acknowledgement was made in the introduction.

The Industrial Sales Committee of the Liberty Loan Committee made inquiry as to the total number of wage earners in Cleveland. This included all manufacturing, transportation and public utilities companies employing ten or more workers, hotels, stores and banks having fifty or more employes. It did not include smaller hotels, stores, banks, nor any manufacturing concerns having less than ten workers, nor offices (save where a part of one of the establishments counted), nor professional workers nor such local concerns as garages, etc. In 1,580 establishments were employed 246,000 workers. If the proportion of workers to total population was the same as in our house to house investigation that would mean an industrial population (including families) of 920,000.

Other estimates of Cleveland's population give about 950,000 for all inhabitants both of the city and the adjacent suburbs. In our house to house investigation the percentage of wage earners who are lodgers is very high, probably higher than in the general population. Since lodgers are almost invariably wage earners, and in the industrial population a larger percentage of the members of families are wage earners than in the non-industrial population, we may assume that the ratio between 246,000 workers of all kinds and the total population of the city is not as great as that between 18,800 wage earners and the 80,000 total population which this investigation includes. It seems reasonable to assume that the total population to which the results of our study are applicable is about 600,000. This means that we have included 18,800 or 7.2% of the 246,000 workers and 80,000 or 13.3% of the 600,000 industrial population. Therefore we are safe in assuming that the findings of this investigation are applicable to the entire industrial population of the city.

B. METHOD OF TABULATING DATA.

Instead of the "average," as the arithmetical mean is usually called, the "median" is that value above which and below which one-half of the cases fall, e.g., of 5,311 lots in

vestigated, one-half, or 2,555½, were occupied to the extent of less than 77% of their area, and the same number were occupied to more than this extent. Seventy-seven per cent is the median of lot occupancy.

The "lower quartile" is that value below which 25% and above which 75% of the cases fall. The "upper quartile" is the value below which 75% and above which 25% of the cases fall. The importance of the quartiles lies in their function as a measure of concentration about the median. That is, if the quartiles are far apart, if the difference between them in proportion to the size of the median, is great, there is a slight concentration of values. If the contrary is the case, the concentration is great.

e. g., Lot Occupancy.

l. q.	59.6	88.6 — 59.6 = 29.0
Median.	77.7	
u. q.	88.6	29.0 = .37
		<hr/> 77.7

Compare with

Wages per hour for all lodgers in household:

l. q.	\$.357	\$.428 — .357 = .071
Median	\$.386	
u. q.	\$.428	.071 = .18
		<hr/> .386

The concentration is twice as great in the second case as in the first.

Medians and quartiles are used extensively in much of the work of the U. S. Bureau of Labor Statistics of the Department of Labor.

In tabulating the information from the cards used by the investigators, it was frequently found that not all questions on the card were answered. This accounts for the fact that for the same group of houses, or of wage earners, the totals of different tabulations are not the same. This lack of a full number of answers to each card introduces merely a slight difference in the accuracy of the various estimates, and this defect of accuracy is, in proportion to the accuracy of all of the information gathered, negligible.

II. RESULTS OF TABULATION OF DATA.

A. PREVAILING TYPE OF INDUSTRIAL HOUSING.

The 6292 houses about which detailed information was secured on the house to house cards show the type of house in which our industrial population lives, the structure of the house and the physical environment.

1. LOT OCCUPANCY

3148 or 50% are on separate lots.

1003 or 16% are on lots with other dwellings or tenements.

2141 or 34% are on lots with other buildings than dwellings and tenements, such as store buildings, stables and garages.

Location of Building on the Lot.

Front	Center	Rear	Not Stated
4970	161	752	389

Buildings used for living purposes that are also used for other purposes are as follows:

Store	Saloon	Other
708	77	49

Percentage of lot occupied was not accurately measured by the field investigators, but estimated according to definite instruction so that the estimates are reasonably accurate. The estimates indicate district lot overcrowding as shown by the following:

Percentage of Lot Occupied by Building.

Lower Quartile	59.6 per cent. of lot
Median	77.7 per cent. of lot
Upper Quartile	88.6 per cent. of lot

2. STRUCTURE OF HOUSES.

Frame	5,810 or 90.9%
Brick	568 or 9.1%

It is not surprising considering the high percentage of lot overcrowding and the high percentage of frame buildings that the fire hazards should be reported as follows:

Great	457 or 18.7%
Moderate	1465 or 59.9%
Low	522 or 21.4%

Insurance rates in these districts have to be above the average because of the high degree of fire hazards.

Tenement Section of the Cleveland Building Code specifies as maximum lot occupancy eighty-five (85) per cent. of a corner lot and sixty (60) per cent. of any other lot.

3. MAINTENANCE OF PROPERTY.

a. Repair of Houses.

Good	1940 or 34.3%
Fair	2397 or 42.4%
Poor	1316 or 23.3%

b. Condition of Cleanliness of Premises.

Good	2109 or 44.0%
Fair	1791 or 37.4%
Poor	890 or 18.6%

That only 34.5% of the houses should be in a good state of repair, and that only 44% of the premises, that is yards and public parts of buildings such as halls, should be clean, is an astonishing comment upon the standard of property maintenance.

Two hundred and ninety-five houses, because of condition of repair, cleanliness and sanitation were scarcely fit for habitation and doubtless the Division of Health would proceed against these places if it were not that it would be adding to the already acute problem of shortage of cheaper grade houses.

4. SANITARY EQUIPMENT.

The amount of sanitary equipment of these houses is shown in the following tables:

a. Number of Families Using One Water Supply Equipment (13,547 families reporting)

No. of families having individual water supply	12,662 or	93.2%
No. of families sharing water supply with 1 other family	583 or 4.3%	
No. of families sharing water supply with 2 other families	178 or 1.3%	
No. of families sharing water supply with 3 other families	72 or .5%	
No. of families sharing water supply with 4 other families	39 or .3%	
No. of families sharing water supply with 5 other families	53 or .4%	6.8%

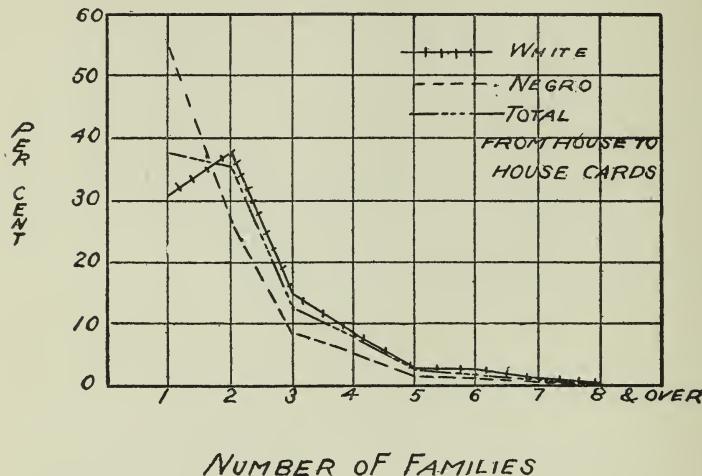
The above table shows that the minimum requirement of one water supply to each family is far from being a fact when each of 53 families are sharing a water supply with five other families and when 6.8% of the families share water supply with one or more families.

b. Number of Families Sharing Water Closet Facilities.
(14,025 families reporting)

No. of families having individual water closets.....	8,946 or	63.7%
No. of families sharing water closet with 1 other family	3,503 or	25.0%
No. of families sharing water closet with 2 other families	998 or 7.1%	
No. of families sharing water closet with 3 other families	402 or 2.9%	
No. of families sharing water closet with 4 other families	147 or 1.0%	
No. of families sharing water closet with 5 other families	29 or .2%	11.2%

The above table shows that 1,576 or 11.2% of the families share water closets with more than one other family. The Tenement House Code requires a water closet for every two families, and up to two years ago this ordinance was reasonably complied with. The increase in number of families using more than two water closets is indicative of a tendency for more families to occupy a house than formerly, and for the house to be subdivided into suites without an alteration permit from the Division of Building, and hence the city has no knowledge of the increased occupancy of the building.

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF HOUSES ACCORDING TO
NUMBER OF FAMILIES LIVING IN EACH HOUSE



Number of Houses Containing Specified Number of Families.

Number of Families	Number of Houses	Per Cent.
1	2367	37.7
2	2208	35.2
3	788	12.5
4	517	8.2
5	162	2.6
6	129	2.1
7	65	1.0
8	42	.7

From this table it is apparent that 27.1% of these families, all except those in the first two groups, live in buildings which are technically *tenement houses, that is, they house more than two families.

The results of the tabulations of the house to house cards show little variance by districts, and this fact indicates that the industrial population lives under about the same conditions, no matter the location, with the possible exception of districts near the center of the city as compared with those of the extreme outlying portions of the city where there is an appreciable fewer number of tenements.

It is apparent that the single family house with yard and with individual water supply and water closet that has been thought to be typical of the housing of Cleveland's industrial workers is not persisting but rather that the tendency is towards both tenement type of house and tenement conditions.

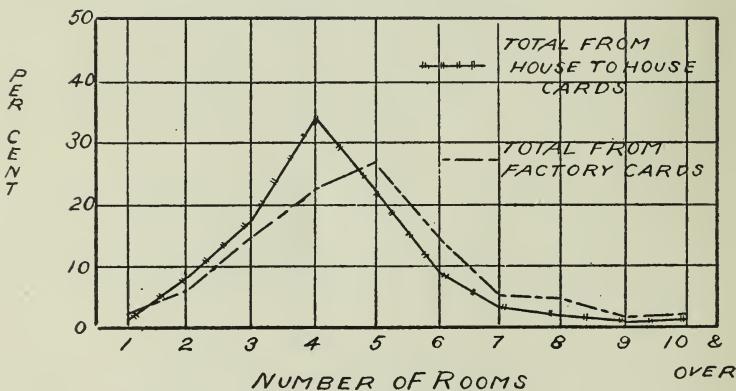
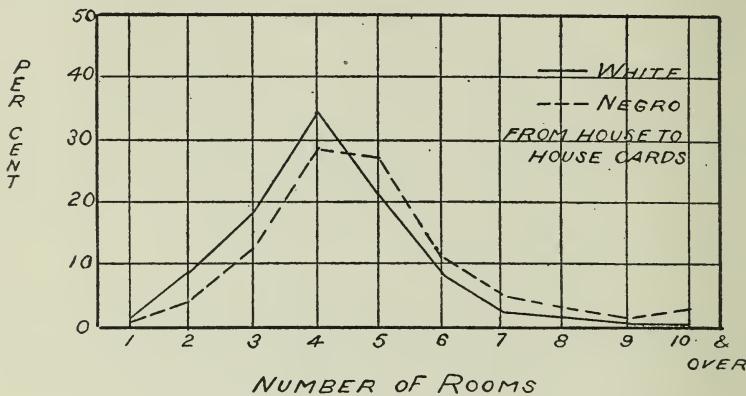
We must conclude from the records of the 6292 houses included in this report that housing conditions are by no means good, nor even up to the standard of the city's regulations. The poor conditions are as a rule the results of those difficulties that come with house and lot overcrowding and with a number of families living in a house formerly built for one family using water supply and water closets in common.

Such conditions have resulted in the lowering of the standards of repair and cleanliness of the property until both tenant and landlord have become contributing factors to the low standard of property maintenance that now prevails in rental property for industrial workers.

*TENEMENT HOUSE. A "tenement house" is any house or building or portion thereof which is occupied in whole or in part as the home or residence of three (3) or more families living independently of each other, and doing their cooking upon the premises, and includes apartment houses, flat houses, flats and all other houses so occupied. Dwelling houses occupied as the home or residence of less than three (3) families shall be deemed to be tenement houses and shall be subject to all the provisions of ordinance under any of the following conditions:

- (a) If built in connected rows or terraces.
- (b) If the water supply, water closets and privies are used in common.

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF SUITES
ACCORDING TO SIZE IN NUMBER OF ROOMS



B. SIZE OF SUITES OR DWELLINGS.

In the tables that follow the statistics that relate to Negroes have been separated from those that relate to Whites because it is usually believed that the Negro has a lower standard of living. The Negro's standard as compared with that of the White's will be summarized at the end of this section of the report:

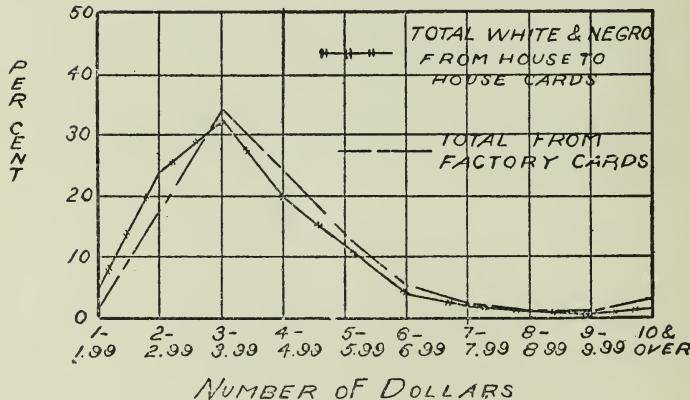
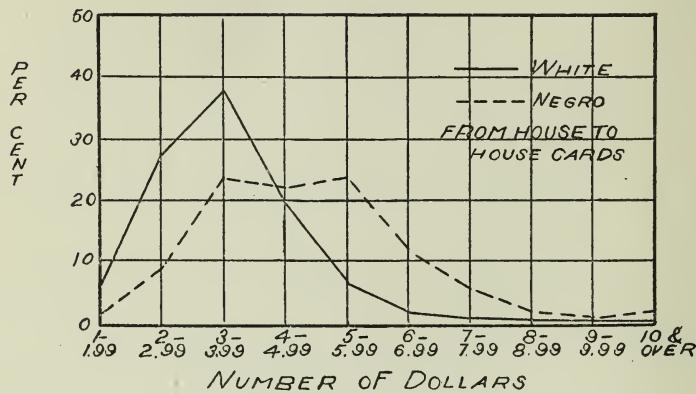
NUMBER OF ROOMS PER FAMILY

	House to House Card			Factory Card
	White	Negro	Total	Total
Lower Quartile	3.8	4.2	3.9	4.1
Median	4.6	5.1	4.7	5.2
Upper Quartile	5.5	6.0	5.6	6.2

The average of the medians of number of rooms per family from both house to house and factory cards is 4.9.

Four rooms are considered by the housing authority of the United States government the minimum number for a family of five to maintain a decent standard of living and this estimate does not consider the possibility of lodgers. The median of 4.7 number of rooms per suite is fairly satisfying but the first quartile of 3.8 rooms per family indicates that out of a total of 14,688 families, 3,672 families, or 25% are living in less than four rooms each. The meaning of these figures can best be understood when the problem of the lodger is considered. This meaning is intensified when we consider the size of rooms, especially the many rooms used for sleeping purposes which are little larger than closets. The smallness of rooms indicates, as does the large number of families using one water supply and one water closet that the dwelling that was formerly occupied by one family has been subdivided to accommodate more than one family.

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF FAMILIES ACCORDING
TO AMOUNTS OF RENT PAID PER ROOM PER MONTH



C. RENT.

Statistics collected from the U. S. Department of Labor in March 1918 from 203 families in those districts of Cleveland where ship builders live show that the average yearly expenditure per family for housing is \$14.13 per month.

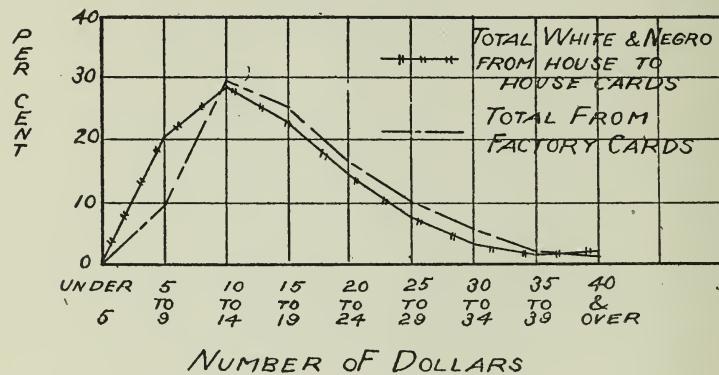
AMOUNT PAID MONTHLY IN RENT FOR SUITE OR DWELLING

	House to House Card			Factory Card	
	White	Negro	Total		Total
Lower Quartile	\$ 9.75	\$15.32	\$10.48		\$12.44
Median	\$13.12	\$22.50	\$15.09		\$16.26
Upper Quartile	\$18.13	\$31.95	\$21.15		\$22.36

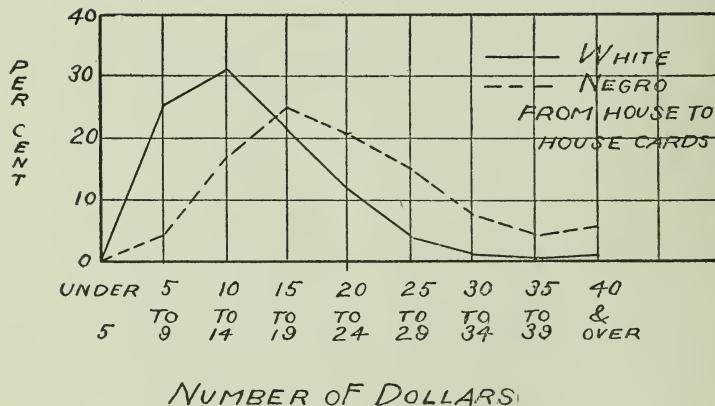
The median rent for all families in the house to house investigation is \$15.09; from the factory schedules \$16.26.

The slight excess of rent shown on the factory card over that of the house to house card indicates that the wage earners reporting on the factory schedules are, as before stated, a selected group that has a higher standard of living than the group reported on the house to house cards.

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF FAMILIES ACCORDING
TO AMOUNT OF RENT PAID PER SUITE PER MONTH



NUMBER OF DOLLARS



NUMBER OF DOLLARS

A more accurate measurement of rent is the amount paid per room as shown in the following table. This table does not include the rent that lodgers pay for rooms but the rate per room for suites and dwellings.

RENT PER ROOM

	House to House Card			Factory Card
	White	Negro	Total	Total
Lower Quartile	\$2.71	\$3.64	\$2.87	\$3.16
Median	\$3.45	\$4.71	\$3.65	\$3.89
Upper Quartile	\$4.25	\$5.79	\$4.65	\$4.88

The median amount paid monthly per room is \$3.65 from the house to house investigation; \$3.89 from the factory schedules.

1. PROPORTION OF EARNINGS SPENT FOR RENT.

Budget experts have agreed that one-fifth of the earnings of the head of the family may be spent for rent and the U. S. Department of Labor has accepted this standard. Though rents shown in the above table may seem high especially when the housing procured for these rents is taken into consideration, the proportion of earnings spent for rent is not disproportionate to the accepted standard, as is shown in the following table:

PROPORTION OF EARNINGS SPENT FOR RENT

	Monthly earnings of Wage Earners	Amount spent for rent	Per cent spent in housing
Lower Quartile	\$69.50	\$10.48	15.1%
Median	\$82.30	\$15.09	18.3%
Upper Quartile	\$96.80	\$21.15	21.9%

The figure of 18.3% of earnings spent in rent is below the accepted standard of 20%. The great difference between the first quartile of 15.1% and the upper quartile of 21.9% indicates that as the standard of living increases the percentage of earnings spent in rent increases.

Both the table showing amounts of rent paid and the table showing percentage of income paid for rent verify what those who are familiar with housing conditions in Cleveland have been realizing, that is, that there is a large number of obsolete, unsanitary houses, the rent of which is cheap in terms of dollars,

but expensive in terms of value received, and that because there is a scarcity of houses between those of the poor types and those of the better modern type, the wage earner either pays less than he can afford for a house in which his standard of living deteriorates, or he pays more than he can afford in order to have a house in which he can maintain his standard of living.

2. REAL ESTATE AGENTS' ESTIMATES OF RENTS.

Rental agencies have estimated that on a frame house, the life of which is thirty years, 12% to 15% is the minimum gross return on which they can do business and realize a bare 6% on their investment. They estimate costs as follows:

Taxes	1.55%
Sinking fund (to retire principal)	1.50%
Insurance30%
Upkeep	2.00%
Interest	6.00%
	<hr/>
	11.35%

The foregoing figures are applicable to normal pre-war conditions only, nor do they include any estimate of cost of conducting a business such as office rental, bookkeeping, salaries, etc. This seems a reasonable estimate and has been verified by a study of the rental records of a number of houses covering a period of years, such records showing that these houses, except under intelligent management and with proper allowance for depreciation being made, do not as a rule yield even 6% net income. The conclusion is that there is a scarcity of desirable houses renting for amounts which the wage earner can pay, rather than that rents are too high or too low in proportion to value of the property.

3. INCREASE IN COST OF LIVING.

To say that rents are not too high or too low in proportion to the value of the property is not to say that the renter is finding it easy to meet his rent or that it is possible for him to pay 20% of his earnings for rent as he could before costs of various items of expense increased so disproportionately. In the study of the 203 families in Cleveland above referred to, the Department of Labor shows the following increases in cost since 1914:

- Rent has increased 12.7%.
- Food has increased 42.22%.
- Clothing has increased 70.24%.
- Furniture and furnishings have increased 75.83%.
- Fuel and light have increased 26.15%.
- All items have increased 46.52%.

The 12.7% increase in rent seems to be a fairly conservative increase in war time and the increase in wages would be enough

to meet this increase in rent if other increases were in the same proportion, but they are not, as the 46.52% of total increase in cost of living shows; and this increase does not include such items as the purchase of Liberty Bonds and contributions to Red Cross and other war demands, which contributions add very materially to the strain on the wage earner's income. It is not to be wondered at that the wage earner who has seen his monthly earnings become less and less adequate to his demand, considers an increase in rent as the last straw. This increase is more obvious than are others because it presents itself as a definite large sum to be met at a stipulated time rather than the insidious increases of a few cents at a time on commodities.

4. RENT ADJUSTMENT BOARD.

Understanding the resentment on the part of the renter towards any increase, we still must recognize that there is little tendency to profiteer, except in the property occupied by Negroes, when we consider that the rents have increased only 12.7% while total increase in cost of living since 1914 is 46.52%. In actual numbers the instances of rent profiteering are many according to reports of the Council committee which has been hearing cases of claims of profiteering, but none the less the tendency towards rent profiteering, with the exception of rents charged to Negroes, is slight, and the prevailing rates of rent for industrial workers in the city are reasonable. The Cuyahoga County Federal Representative of the U. S. Housing Corporation has recently created a Federal Rent Adjustment Board which will doubtless check any tendency to profiteer that may be under way. It is worthy of comment that this Board has the support of the real estate interests of the city and real estate men are giving service to it.

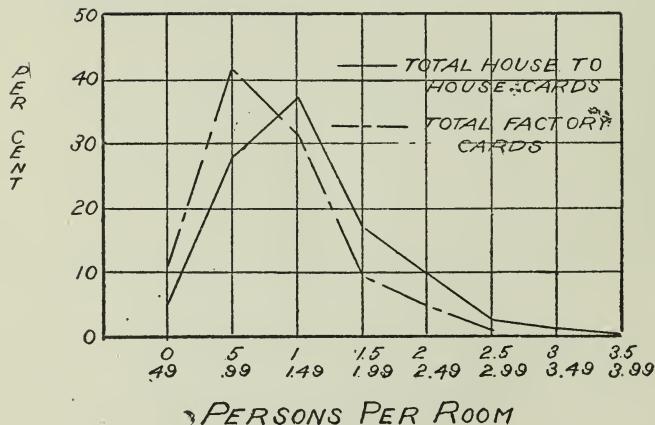
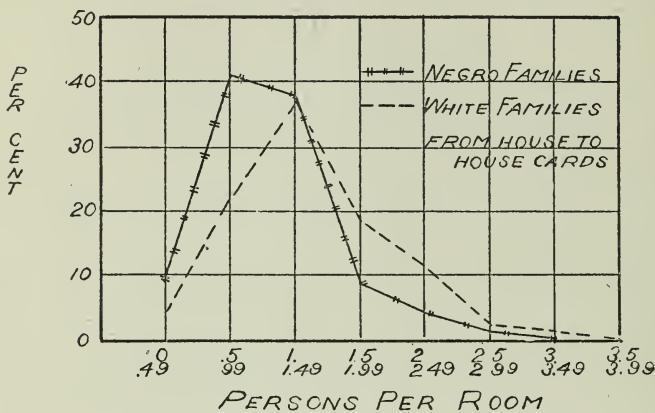
D. HOME OWNING.

FAMILIES OWNING AND RENTING HOMES

	Own Number	Own Per Cent.	Rent Number	Rent Per Cent.
Reported on the house to house cards	1282	9.2%	12656	90.8%
Reported on factory cards (wage earners)	1444	20.0%	4186	75.0%
Total number	2726	13.8%	16842	86.2%

The fact that the factory cards reported more wage earners owning their own homes than did the house to house cards is again to be explained on the basis that those who filled out the factory cards were a selected group. One factory where 100% of the employees reported showed that of the total number of 4,285 employes, 584, or 13.6%, owned their homes and 555

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF FAMILIES
ACCORDING TO NUMBER OF PERSONS PER ROOM



were buying, which made a total of 26.5% who were either owning or buying. (Schedules from this factory were received too late to include in tabulation.)

1. HOME OWNING DECREASING.

The U. S. Census figures for 1910 show that 35% of the families in Cleveland own their homes. The above table shows that 13.8% of the wage earners considered in this report own their own homes. If the 18,800 wage earners are typical of the 246,000 wage earners of the city, and we believe that they are, we may assume that 13.8% of all wage earners in the city own their own homes. Therefore, either less than half of those reported as owning homes in 1910 were wage earners, and this is not likely, or home owning among industrial workers in Cleveland has decreased since 1910.

Records of the County Auditor's office, the Cleveland Real Estate Board, and statements of rental agencies agree that home owning, especially among the industrial population, is decreasing. This is further evidenced by the great increase in the number of multiple type buildings erected within the past few years. Home owning has always been the great stabilizer of labor supply. The manufacturers of this city whose chief concern at this time must be that of maintaining a stable labor supply can not view with equanimity this tendency toward a decrease in home owning. Does this decrease have a direct relation to the increase in the percentage of wage earners who are lodgers?

E. OCCUPANCY.

1. NUMBER OF PERSONS PER ROOM.

	House to House Card			Factory Card	
	White	Negro	Total	Total	
First Quartile	.9	.7	.9		.7
Median	1.3	1.0	1.2		1.0
Third Quartile	1.7	1.4	1.6		1.4

The median number of persons per room shows room overcrowding. When interpreted in terms of the U. S. Department of Labor standard of one person per room, the median of 1.2 shows that 50% of the war workers in Cleveland are living under conditions that are below the government standard established for war workers.

2. NUMBER OF PERSONS IN FAMILY UNIT INCLUDING LODGERS.

	House to House Card				Factory Card		
	Members of family				Family Group		
	Adults	Children	Lodgers	Total	including	Lodgers	Lodgers
Upper Quartile	2.2	1.9	0.4	3.5	3.2		1.3
Median	2.5	3.0	0.8	5.0	4.3		1.6
Lower Quartile	2.8	4.4	1.7	6.9	5.7		1.9

The median number of children is 3.0 which is approximately the average per family as shown by the U. S. Census. It is evident that it is not a large number of children per family that causes the room overcrowding.

It is the addition of lodgers to the number of persons in the family which produces room overcrowding.

F. NEGROES AS TENANTS.

The Negro has recently come to Cleveland in such large numbers that he is challenging our attention by complicating many of our social problems. For example, he is contributing disproportionately to tuberculosis. We are consequently especially concerned as to where and how he lives. We find that many property owners who have always rented to Whites are not willing to rent to Negroes because they believe that both the property itself and property values deteriorate more rapidly when occupied by Negroes. As a result it has been difficult to secure housing accommodations for the approximately 20,000 Negroes who have come to Cleveland within the last two years to work in war industries and they have fallen heir to the poorest housing accommodations we have in the city. For years our worst housing conditions have been found, not in our tenements, but in the old shacks which are the relics of the days when the single family house occupied the lot. Now the lot is crowded by a number of those houses that are no more than shacks. The fact that the median number of Negro families per house is 1.9 as compared to 2.5 as the median number of white families, shows the tendency of the white family to move from these frame shacks into the multiple dwellings and to leave the shacks to the Negro. It also shows the tendency towards the newer or better housing accommodations of the city to be of the multiple type. Notwithstanding the poor type of housing that the Negro is able to provide for himself, our field investigators reported that Negro industrial workers are no harder on property than are the White industrial workers, and that their homes are as well maintained and the property as well kept up. The manager of the largest rental agency of medium and cheap grade property in this city verified this report from his experience.

1. STANDARD OF LIVING AMONG THE NEGROES.

Unexpectedly enough we find no greater overcrowding on the part of the Negro than the White. The median of 5.1 rooms for Negro families is higher than the median of 4.6 rooms for White families. The median number of persons in the Negro family is 4.4, as compared to the median of 5.2 for White

families, and the median number of persons per room for Negroes is 1.0 as compared to 1.3 for Whites, and this in spite of the fact that Negroes pay such high rent that overcrowding might be expected. We must be convinced that the families of White industrial workers are living under no better conditions than are the families of the Negro industrial worker, and conclude that the reason that we have been concerned about the conditions under which the Negroes live is because they have been more conspicuous, living on side streets of the main thoroughfares, while multitudes of the foreign born wage earning Whites are segregated in the less frequented so-called "foreign" parts of the city where we seldom venture.

We have heard much of rent profiteering among the Negroes, and that report has been adequately verified by our figures.

2. RENT PROFITEERING AMONG THE NEGROES.

While the case of a Negro family having to pay \$40 for a house that was just vacated by a White family that paid \$27.50 may be extreme, none the less we know that it is indicative of the rent profiteering to which the Negro is subjected. That this profiteering is not unusual is shown by the fact that the median rent for Negro families is \$7.62 per suite and \$1.26 more per room than for the White families. We have to recognize that a certain amount of rent profiteering among the Negroes is inevitable so long as there is the social discrimination against the Negro. With existing prejudice either the owners of the property who rent to Negroes must suffer from the fear of a depreciation in the value of their property or the Negro must suffer by paying more rent than Whites because property rented to Negroes is seldom thereafter rented to Whites, and as soon as Negroes come into a community there is a tendency on the part of the Whites to move from the district. But these facts do not excuse such large differences in rent, especially when it is realized that the Negro gets much poorer housing for his rent, and when investigations show that he maintains the property which he rents in as good condition as does the white industrial worker.

The house to house cards showed that 10.9 per cent of the total number of White families, as compared with 2.9 per cent of the total number of Colored families, own their homes. One reason for the small per cent owning homes among Negroes is that so many have recently come to the city, and until war conditions made it possible, there were few Negro industrial workers. Employers agree that Negroes are less steady and more irresponsible workers than Whites. If these Negroes are

to stay in industry they must be stabilized and experience has shown that one of the surest ways to stabilize labor is to make home owning possible for it.

G. LODGERS.

1. LODGINGS.

a. With Families

The house to house cards show that 4498 or 32% of all the families recorded have lodgers. That is practically one family out of every three has lodgers. The total number of lodgers in these 4498 families is 10,818, and the median number of lodgers per family is 2.0 (i.e., among families having lodgers.)

Evidently the family unit in Cleveland is being seriously affected by the billeting of industrial workers upon it and it does not seem incredible that the stress put upon family life, especially in those homes with adolescent children, may be comparable to that in the homes of France where the soldiers have been billeted upon the peasant population back of the first lines. It is not our intention to show the moral, the social and the health effects of room overcrowding, but rather to take those effects for granted, and to consider room overcrowding only insofar as it involves the lodger problem and the lodger problem only insofar as it may be shown to affect industry. In order to do this we desire to study not only the lodger who dwells with a private family but the lodger who lives in lodging houses, that is, houses in which there are more than ten lodgers.

b. In Lodging Houses.

Records were taken of 857 men of 25 nationalities who live in lodging houses and of 762 men of 11 nationalities who live in bunk houses owned and operated by the companies for whom these men worked.

The lodging houses in the downtown business sections of the city number 14 and accommodate about 2,000 persons in 1,234 rooms and 14 dormitories. Prices range from 15c in a dormitory to 75c for a room per day. These places are for the most part poorly ventilated, hot in the summer and cold in the winter. Sanitary conditions are poor. The beds are frequently vermin infested. In July these places were filled to about 70% of their maximum capacity, but the managers explained that that percentage was high for the summer months when most of the habitues take to the road and when the city is not alluring transients. During the first week of October these places were reported as filled. In practically all of these lodging houses were found some regularly employed industrial workers, but with such strange exceptions as the man who made \$125 a month

and had occupied a 25c stall in a poor lodging house for 20 years, industrial workers are in these places only until they can find other lodging or a place to which they can bring their families. The fact that a few hundred more men might be crowded into the downtown lodging houses and stag hotels does not seem to have much relation to the problem of housing industrial workers as the industrial workers will not stay in these places. They are not worse than the lodgings where industrial workers stay permanently but they are different insofar as they are nondescript.

c. In Foreign Lodging Houses.

No matter how poor the accommodations of the so-called "foreign" industrial lodging houses are, men stay there in preference to the others because each is usually frequented by workers of one nationality and by those who do the same kind of work or who work in the same neighborhood, or by those who desire to live in the neighborhood.

Records were taken from 791 wage earners who dwell in the so-called foreign lodging houses. If we consider these places from the point of view of sanitation or comfort, we will realize that the lodging problem is not only the problem of the lodger as he affects industry and adds to labor turnover, but also as an acute problem to himself. For the most part these houses are overcrowded. Frequently in one bed-room of ordinary size there are four beds, accommodating eight men. Usually the floors are bare and the only furniture is the bed and the trunks or boxes of the lodgers. All of the rooms in the house are used as sleeping rooms with the exception of the kitchen. In only a few instances are the beds occupied in shifts, that is, slept in by one group of men in the daytime and by another group of men in the night. Generally the wife of the man who runs the house does the cooking for all, but in some cases the men do their own cooking. One gains the impression of sufficient food from the ever-steaming pots on the kitchen stove, but there are in few cases any indication of the comforts of home life. The heat of this summer has caused none of the lodgers to forget the suffering from the cold of last winter. The kitchen is usually the only means of heating and as a rule the houses are frame and in bad repair.

The lodging house cards show that 48.3% of those reporting state that they are married. When one contemplates the life in these lodging houses he comes to the conclusion that these married men are not dwelling there because of some vagaries of the mind but chiefly because they can not bring their families here because of war conditions in Europe or because of a housing shortage in Cleveland.

d. In Bunk Houses.

In the bunk houses we find only an exaggerated form of the conditions that we find in the lodging houses. We question why there should be bunk houses violating building and sanitary ordinances within the city of Cleveland. We are told that they are only temporary structures to house temporary gangs of workmen near the place where they are working in order to hold them to the job and that the camp will be moved when the work immediately in hand is completed. Out of the 28 so-called camps that are made up of these bunk houses, 18 of them are permanent insofar as they have been in their present location for more than a year and will continue indefinitely. Only ten of them are so constructed as to make moving them possible. Eleven of them were made by assembling old shacks and 17 were made from box cars or both shacks and box cars. The cleanliness and sanitation of 17 of these places was bad and the others were only fair. Not a single camp was reported as clean and sanitary conditions good. The failure to have sewer connection and the lack of drainage contributes to making the most of these places not only unsafe from the standpoint of health for their occupants but for the neighborhood. The one excuse for these bunk houses within the limits of the City of Cleveland is to house the workers near their work in order to keep them on the job, and yet in every one of these camps the labor turnover is too ridiculously high to attempt to compute. The oldest resident found in any of these bunk houses had been there three months and in one bunk house only three men out of 27 had been there one month. Sixty-six per cent of the men in bunk houses receive less than 33 cents per hour. The median hourly rate for wage earners who are heads of families is 40 cents per hour. What relation has the bunk house to earning power?

If housing conditions in Cleveland were normal, would the Department of Health and the Department of Buildings tolerate these places? They are not filling the need created by a housing shortage. As a result of this are the companies securing less efficient workmen and the community at the same time suffering from the lowering of standards that bring disease and crime for which the community pays, not only in loss of efficiency of workers but in dollars and cents?

2. PROPORTION OF WAGE EARNERS WHO ARE LODGERS.

Altogether there were reported through the investigation, exclusive of those in bunk houses, the following number of wage earners:

From the Factory Cards	7557
From the House to House Cards	
In private homes	17888
a. members of families	12357
b. lodgers	5531
In lodging houses	943
Total	26388

Full information was not to be had about each of these wage earners, hence the following tables do not usually show a total as large as 26,388 but the totals are representative of the whole group.

WAGE EARNERS

	Members of Family				Lodgers				Total	
	Married		Single		Married		Single			
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%		
House to House Canvas	7095	89.0	872	11.0	1337	37.8	2200	62.2	11504	
Factory Canvas	4066	87.5	584	12.5	665	28.2	1703	71.8	7018	
Lodging House Canvas					320	48.5	342	51.5	662	
Total No. of Wage Earners	11162	88.4	1456	11.6	2322	35.3	4245	64.7	19184	

As in rest of manuscript these figures show that of a total of 19,184 wage earners, 6,567, or 34.2%, are lodgers. This percentage is astonishingly high, especially when we consider that of the 40,000 men in the army a disproportionately large part was probably contributed by the lodger population, assuming that it was composed of the younger and single men. Not only is the proportion of wage earners who are lodgers high, but the proportion of these lodgers who are married is high, 35.3%; and the proportion of married lodgers in lodging houses is even higher, 48.5%, or practically half.

3. LODGERS RELATION TO INDUSTRY AS COMPARED TO MEMBERS OF FAMILIES.

The industrial situation of these lodgers as compared to that of the members of families is treated under the following headings:

(a) Length of time in Cleveland, which shows that the number of industrial workers who are lodgers is increasing

more rapidly than the number of industrial workers who are members of families;

(b) Length of time employed at the present place, which shows a higher rate of labor turnover among lodgers than among members of families;

(c) Wages, which show a higher rate of absenteeism among lodgers.

a. Length of Time in Cleveland.

QUARTILES AND MEDIAN OF LENGTH OF TIME IN TERMS OF YEARS THAT WAGE EARNERS HAVE LIVED IN CLEVELAND

	Total	White	Negro	
Lower Quartile	2.8	4.4	1.3	Member of family
	0.9	1.4	0.5	Lodger in family
	1.2	1.2	1.2	Lodger in lodging house
Median	7.7	9.2	2.4	Member of family
	2.4	3.7	1.4	Lodger in family
	2.2	2.3	2.1	Lodger in lodging house
Upper Quartile	28.5	32.5	7.3	Member of family
	5.5	7.0	2.5	Lodger in family
	4.0	4.0	2.8	Lodger in lodging house

Table of number of cases from which above values were derived.

Total	White	Negro	
5149	3989	1160	Member of family.
2575	1686	890	Lodger in family.
544	496	48	Lodger in lodging house.

It is to be noted that, in comparing members of families to lodgers, on the average the members of White families have been living in Cleveland three times as long as White lodgers and the members of Negro families one and a half times as long as Negro lodgers. In other words, these representative values (the quartiles and medians) indicate that the lodgers are a very much more recent group in the city than are the members of families.

b. Length of Time Employed at Present Place (Turnover)

	Total	White	Negro	
Lower Quartile	0.3 year	0.3 year	0.2 year	Member of family
	0.2	0.2	0.1	Lodger in family
	0.2	0.2	0.1	Lodger in lodging house
Median	1.4	1.6	0.8	Member of family
	0.5	0.6	0.4	Lodger in family
	0.6	0.7	0.4	Lodger in lodging house
Upper Quartile	3.9	4.5	2.0	Member of family
	1.9	2.2	1.2	Lodger in family
	1.8	1.9	0.9	Lodger in lodging house

Table of Number of Cases from which Above Values
were Derived.

(House to House Cards)

Total	White	Negro	
12361	10085	2276	Member of family
5531	4060	1471	Lodger in family
887	818	69	Lodger in lodging house

The above figures show that of the 25% of wage earners who form the least stable group of workers the most permanent sub-groups, members of White families (shown in lower quartile table), have been at present work 0.3 of a year, or 3.6 months. The least permanent sub-group, Negro lodgers in lodging houses (same table) have been at present work 0.1 years or less than 5 weeks. Such instability of labor is the cause for deep concern. In further analyzing the tables, we find that the lodgers are a more unstable group of workers than are the workers who are members of families, as the following comparisons show:

The lower 25% of lodgers has been employed at the present place from one-third to two-thirds as long as the lower 25% of members of families.

The lower 50% of the lodgers has been employed at the present place from one-third to one-half as long as the lower 50% of members of families.

The lower 75% of the lodgers has been employed at the present place less than one-half as long as the lower 75% of members of families.

This is a clear indication that the lodger constitutes a less permanent part of an industrial force than the member of a family. This is due to two facts: The lodger is a more recent arrival; and at the present time, when work is to be had at good wages in almost every industrial community the more recent arrival is more likely than in normal periods of employment to be an industrial tramp. The present ease of getting a job affords the naturally nomadic worker an opportunity to indulge in this bent toward wandering. If our community has no houses in which the wandering workers, 35.3% of whom are married, may bring their families from other communities to settle here, it is certainly a contributing cause to family separations and the casual worker. We are doing in an industrial way what we have done for years in the fields of transportation and of promiscuous charity—making tramping easy, and, in a sense, profitable.

c. Wages.

WAGES PER HOUR

	Member of Family			Lodger in Family			Lodger in Lodging House		
	Total	White	Negro	Total	White	Negro	Total	White	Negro
Lower Quartile	\$.352	\$.352	\$.349	\$.357	\$.357	\$.359	\$.363	\$.363	\$.363
Median	\$.386	\$.386	\$.384	\$.386	\$.386	\$.378	\$.404	\$.404	\$.404
Upper Quartile	\$.437	\$.435	\$.445	\$.428	\$.428	\$.422	\$.435	\$.435	\$.435

From this table it appears that the lodger is, on the average, employed at as remunerative a kind of work as the member of a family. The slightly higher rate of pay for lodgers in lodging houses is due to the fact that the other wage earning group includes about 1,000 women.

WAGES PER WEEK

d. Absenteeism is Greater Among Lodgers.

The "median" in the above table shows that 50% of the workers who are members of families earn a median of \$1.50 more per week than do those who lodge with families. This means that the lodger works approximately one-half day less each week than does the member of the family, since he earns approximately the same hourly rate.*

*The median weekly wage reported of 19 lodgers is \$12.15, or \$77.75 less than that of the member of a family. This indicates that the longer a lodger stays in a lodging house the fewer hours than the members of a family. At 40¢ per hour it would indicate a 30-hour week against a 35-hour week for family members.

If so much more time is lost by those workers who are lodgers than by those who are members of families, it seems reasonable to conclude that we must attempt both to reduce the number of wage earners who are lodgers and so to improve lodging houses that at least some of the conditions of lodgings that contribute to absenteeism are removed.

If 320 or 48.5% of lodgers in lodging houses and 1337 or 37.8% of lodgers in families are married men (see Table on Proportion of Wage Earners Who are Lodgers on page 25), we must assume that some of these married men would bring their families here and settle down to the task of maintaining a home if available houses could be found. Just as the urge of maintaining a home is more potent in keeping a man regularly at his work, so decent lodging house conditions that make for health and sobriety will do more to keep at work the man without a family.

If the lodgers are more irregular workers because they do not feel the necessity of maintaining homes, may we carry that argument a step further? Can we assume that the man whose wife is earning the equivalent of his wages by renting rooms and cooking for lodgers, feels more free to take a day off from work than the man whose wages are the only means of maintaining the family?

The house to house card shows that the average length of time at present place of employment is 1.4 years for the member of the family, and .5 years for the lodger. (See Table on Length of Time Employed at Present Place, page 26). This is because he is freer to move about, having no home ties nor home responsibilities to hold him, and because if he lives in a lodging house or bunk house, the very nature of his living reacts upon his attitude toward work and he is as quick to leave his place of work as he is to leave his abode. It is when he has his family with him and especially when he owns or is purchasing the house in which he lives that the worker may be relied upon to be deliberate about shifting from job to job for the mere novelty of new work must compete with more serious attractions of steady pay at the old place.

H. TIME SPENT IN GOING TO WORK.

Out of a total of 21,832 wage earners, 10,364, or 48% walk to and from their work. This proximity of industry to the home is desirable, and, in a city like Cleveland with its factories well distributed and accessible to residential sections, it ought not

to be impossible. Out of the number who walk, 945 spend from 30 to 60 minutes walking to, or from one to two hours a day in going to and coming from work. Whether these 945 people are in need of exercise or whether they prefer this form of exercise to that of combating crowds on the street cars, is questionable. 11,468 persons or 52% of the wage earners ride to their work. Of this number, 5,059 spend from 30 to 60 minutes riding one way, or from one to two hours going to and coming from work each day, 1,411 spend more than one hour going to work, or more than two hours going and coming from work each day. More than 300 spend more than three hours a day in going to and coming from work each day. These latter figures indicate a waste of time and energy on the part of the worker that must be detrimental to his efficiency as a worker.

The relation between the distance wage earners traveled to work and the time they remained at one place of work was investigated, but no statistical correlation was shown. However, the numerous statements of wage earners that they left their places of employment in order to work nearer home, and the statements of employers that men left for jobs nearer home, leave but little doubt that the distribution of labor will, if possible, adjust itself in a city. Men living on the extreme west side of the city will not continue to work in Collinwood, if they cannot find houses in Collinwood. If they can find work on the west side and cannot find houses in Collinwood, industries located in Collinwood will be without workers unless unusual inducements are offered. In pre-war times there were doubtless skilled mechanics who would spend hours on the street car in order to get from their homes to certain shops where conditions of work were agreeable to them, but now that there is a demand for skilled mechanics in practically every factory in the city, men are not likely to continue to take these long rides if they can find work adjacent to their homes.

1. THE RELATION OF HOUSING TO LABOR SUPPLY.

Questionnaires were sent to 582 factories working on war orders, and 160 or about 25% of these questionnaires were filled out and returned to us. The 160 questionnaires represented about 47,000 workers, 30,000 of whom were working on Government contracts.

One hundred and thirty-eight of these factories reported that they had no method of assisting employees in finding houses or records of houses where their employees live, or amounts of rent paid by their employees.

Ten factories reported that they made an effort to assist their employees in finding adequate living accommodations and

kept a record of houses where their employes live and of the rent that they pay.

Eleven factories made no reply to these questions.

Twenty-five of the 159 factories reporting stated that the housing accommodations that workmen were able to secure had a direct relation to labor supply, and it is worthy of comment, that all of the ten plants that kept records on this subject are included in this twenty-five.

Eighty-nine factories replied negatively, that is, that they did not believe that the supply of accommodations had any relation to labor supply. It is to be borne in mind that these factories kept no record regarding these facts, and in most instances kept very inaccurate records of absenteeism and labor turnover. It is apparent that as soon as a factory begins to keep accurate records of absenteeism and turnover, it finds a direct relation between these and poor or inadequate housing.

Some of the following extracts from these factory questionnaires indicate this:

“Had trouble from absences partly due to lack of proper housing. Five to ten per cent. of workers have left our employ for this reason and about twenty per cent. of our labor turnover is due to this. Ninety-five per cent. of employees have had their rents raised since July 1916.”

“Trouble from absences due to some extent to lack of proper housing facilities. Ten per cent. of men have left work for this reason. Labor turnover affected by housing situation. This is especially true with Negro laborers.”

“Trouble from absences due to poor street car service.”

“Ten per cent. of men have quit work owing to unsatisfactory housing. Labor turnover affected by high rents.”

“Men must have more pay to meet higher rents and heavy living expenses and they find that now in piece-work shops.”

“Housing accommodations in this neighborhood are inadequate and employes living at a distance drift away because too much time is required to reach their employment.”

As to effect on labor turnover due to housing sanitation, this concern says most emphatically, “Yes. A considerable number of our employes were obliged to move away from our plant for which reason we have lost some of our most trustworthy mechanics.”

“If housing were better, we might be near 100% efficient in our turnover.”

“Our employes complain that rents are beyond their reach in this neighborhood. This affects labor turnover because other parts of city offer better conditions for homes than this locality and at better rates. Many of our men live at boarding houses which are charging maximum rates with minimum conveniences and sanitation, for which there seems to be no remedy.”

“Needed additional labor could be obtained by us if suitable houses for workers were available.”

"Employes experience difficulty in finding houses and rooms and boarding houses in Lakewood. A number of employes state they cannot find suitable accommodations near the plant and they do not care to come so far owing to poor car service."

"Approximately 14% of our absenteeism is caused by lack of proper housing. Ten per cent. have left because they could not find housing accommodations."

"Lack of proper housing facilities caused 15 to 20% of our employes to quit; was a cause in part of men being absent and affected labor turnover."

"Seventy-five per cent. of men ride to work with poor car service, which affects labor turnover, causing men to seek work elsewhere."

"In several cases have had men quit because of lack of proper housing. Men complain of high rent. On investigation of cases find among Negroes and Italians, six, eight and ten families in one house."

"Five per cent. of employes have suitable housing accommodations. Location seems to be chief difficulty. Fifty-five per cent. of men live on West Side, and spend an hour coming to work."

"Rents very high and a scarcity of houses and flats. Twenty-five to thirty per cent. of our employes have quit owing to unsatisfactory housing."

"Lack of good homes necessitates lodging houses and cheap hotels, which in turn invite bad company and dissipation, resulting in unreliable attendance at work."

"We have some Negro labor and it's hard for them to find places in the vicinity. The floating foreign labor and Negro labor not any worse off than in previous years."

"Rents so high, houses scarce. About half must take whatever they can find at any price."

"Some live too far from work. Twenty per cent. have quit jobs owing to housing situation. This has affected our labor turnover. Most all of our men complain of increased rent."

III. POSSIBLE LOCATION OF HOUSES

If there are not adequate housing accommodations for Cleveland's industrial workers, it is not because there is a lack of available land. Parts of Cleveland, it is true, are becoming congested as is indicated by the high percentage of lot occupancy, and in many desirable sections of the city there is little vacant land left. However, figures from the County Auditor's Office show that there are 56,530 vacant parcels of land within the city limits as compared to 83,843 occupied parcels. These vacant parcels include the gullies in the south and west parts of the city and doubtless other land that is not useable for residence purposes, but much of this land is being reclaimed every year.

The City Engineer states that nine-tenths of useable parcels of land that are within the twenty-five minute ride by street car from the Public Square have sewer connection. The Water Works Division reports water connection for 99 out of every 100 of these parcels.

The development of industry along the Belt Line, the New York Central and the Nickel Plate Railroad, both east and west, and Kingsbury Run, as well as its centralization at railroad yards in several parts of the city, result in so well distributing industrial plants that it has been possible to have industrial housing developments in many districts. Consequently Cleveland is one of the best examples of a city that has been able to have its industrial workers live in neighborhoods near industry and yet not live under the shadows of manufacturing plants where they suffer from congestion and the grimy conditions that are necessarily contingent to factory districts but should be no part of the home life of the factory workers. But industry has been encroaching rapidly upon these residence sections and now the problem is to find new districts for industrial housing developments.

Map No. 1 which shows the distribution of population indicates at a glance certain districts that are undesirable for more building because already crowded. Maps made from the records of the Department of Health locating the deaths from tuberculosis and the deaths of infants under two years of age show that most deaths are in exactly those areas where the density of population is the greatest.

Map No. III which shows the distribution of war industries indicates many desirable localities for the housing of workers as far as their proximity to industry is concerned.

Both the location of industries in certain parts of the city and the development of neighborhoods along the lines of national

groups convince us that those districts will continue to be greatly in demand for dwelling places of our industrial workers. It is therefore necessary that as much good industrial housing at reasonable rents be provided in these districts as possible.

A. PROBLEM OF NATIONALITY GROUPING.

In a city more than 75% of whose population is made up of those of foreign birth or the children of foreign born parents, the problem of housing is greater because it is necessary to consider nationality groups as well as social groups. It is impossible to attempt to house foreign speaking workmen in parts of the city where they can not share the interests of and participate in the activities of the life of the neighborhood. This they can not do if they live in a neighborhood where the language, mode of living and forms of self expression are different. Before the war the peoples of one foreign nationality would mingle with another more easily than with Americans, but that time has passed. Austrians, Italians, Turks, Greeks, and various Slavic peoples no longer dwell together in peace. These communities which, to the casual observer, appear to be only transplanted foreign colonies, are in reality acquiring American standards and methods of living more rapidly than we always realize. For this reason, if for no other, those who are devoting themselves to the problems of Americanization might well devote their attention to the problems of industrial housing in this city.

In many of the neighborhoods which have developed along the lines of national groups, old one-family houses have deteriorated into miserable tenements and should be replaced with better types of dwellings and tenements.

B. VALUES OF LAND.

The following report of the value of land by foot frontage, located in terms of time distance by street car from the Public Square as estimated by the Valuation Committee of the Cleveland Real Estate Board, indicates what possibilities there are for building houses in many of these districts that will be within the rental or purchase price of the industrial worker. The per foot frontage value of the lot upon which the typical modern single family workingman's house is located, is between \$25.00 and \$35.00.

Five Minute Zone.

There is practically no land available for housing in this zone, it being largely within the retail and wholesale business districts. Land values are too high for residential use and there is practically no land available for such purpose.

Fifteen Minute Zone.

North of Payne Avenue to the Lake Front and extending from East 65th Street west to East 27th Street, excluding all main arteries of travel, values range from \$50 to \$100 per foot front. The character of this district is rapidly changing from residential to industrial use. Houses are old and building value is merged in land value. Very little vacant land is available.

Between Payne Avenue and Euclid Avenue, East 55th Street west to East 17th Street. The character of this district is shifting from residential to industrial and commercial uses. Values range from \$50 to \$300 per foot front, with a limited area in vicinity of 17th and 18th Streets having a unit value of \$400 to \$600 per foot front. An unusually large vacant area is available which is well adapted for modern tenement use, being immediately accessible to the new textile manufacturing district in the vicinity of Payne and Superior Avenues.

Between Euclid Avenue and Broadway, lying west of East 55th Street to East 22nd Street. Values range from \$50 to \$75 per foot front. Territory between Prospect and Cedar Avenues has unusual depth lots on which are located old buildings. This territory is capable of more intensive terrace and tenement development which would relieve the thickly congested sections in the Scovill, Central, Woodland and Orange Avenue portions of this zone.

Broadway to West 25th Street, lying between Clark and Detroit Avenue. Values \$25.00 to \$40.00 with a limited area in the vicinity of Franklin and Clinton Avenues with a value of \$40.00 to \$50.00 per foot front. Little vacant area available in this zone.

Twenty-Five Minute Zone.

Kinsman Road to Cedar Avenue, lying west of Woodhill Road to East 55th Street. Value \$25.00 to \$35.00 per foot front with limited area near Cedar Avenue and East 55th Street. Value \$40.00 to \$50.00 per foot front. This territory accessible to large number of manufacturing plants that employ skilled labor.

Cedar Avenue to Hough Avenue, East 55th Street east to East 105th Street. Value \$150.00 to \$350.00 per foot front. A well populated territory containing lots of unusual depth, adapted to dwellings and apartments. Accessible to many industries.

Hough Avenue to the Lake Front, and East 55th Street to the Boulevard. Unit value \$35.00 to \$75.00 per foot front, with limited area along Parkway at \$150.00 per foot front.

Cuyahoga River, west to West 117th Street, and south from Clifton Boulevard to Denison Avenue. Value \$25.00 to \$35.00

per foot front, with limited area at north end of zone in the vicinity of Clifton Boulevard, value of \$40.00 to \$50.00 per foot front. Not a workingman's district till vicinity south of Detroit Avenue is reached.

Cuyahoga River and Kinsman Road, west to East 55th Street. Value \$20.00 to \$30.00 per foot front. Irregular topography. Many streets in this section unpaved. Great oil and iron concerns located in district a great drawback to residential use.

Thirty-Five Minute Zone.

Euclid Avenue to Woodland Avenue, Coventry Road to East 93rd Street. Value \$50.00 to \$150.00 per foot front, with limited area west of East 116th Street in extreme southern part of district at \$30.00 per foot front. In some part an expensive residential territory not suitable for the industrial housing.

Woodland Avenue south to Miles Avenue, east of East 93rd Street. Value \$25.00 to \$35.00 per foot front. A new partially developed and desirable location for workingmen's homes. Transportation facilities to Newburgh industrial section very good.

Clifton Boulevard south to Madison Avenue, west to West 117th Street to Warren Road. Value \$35.00 to \$50.00 per foot front. The southern portion of this zone is a newly developed workingman's section, near the new industrial plants located in the vicinity of West 117th Street and Madison Avenue, with fairly good transportation facilities.

C. DESIRABLE LOCATIONS IN OUTLYING SECTIONS.

There is no reason why the congested sections should become more congested or why workers should be forced to pay either in rent or purchase price for land beyond their means.

There are great possibilities of building outside the city limits where land is cheaper. Lakewood, which is accessible to all industries of the west side has 5,348 parcels of land, or 52% of the total number of parcels of land unoccupied. South Newburgh, which is accessible to industries of the south side, has 776 parcels of land, or 58% of the total number of parcels of land unoccupied. These suburbs are typical of those which surround the city, and land values in these districts run as low as \$18.00 per foot front.

Fortunately enough for the cause of housing industrial workers, industry is spreading to the suburbs, so that houses built in the outlying parts of the city or even beyond the city limits can house workers who will not have to travel further to their places of work than those do who live in the more congested parts of the city. As the study of time spent in going to work indicated that

men were traveling from crowded parts of the city to industries in the suburbs, we can realize that more building in these suburbs or in parts of the city near suburbs will house the workers for the industries in those parts and also that more building in any locality to house the labor in that locality will release those who are traveling long distances to find work nearer their homes.

The factory questionnaires show that two or three new industrial centers are developing, and because these centers are far removed from residence districts, their workers are spending long hours on street cars, and already employers are wondering if they will continue to do this during the winter. Plants so located have an especially difficult problem with a night force. The statements of officials in the street railroad company that there is a great increase in the last two years in the amount of travel from the downtown portion of the city to the suburbs from 6:00 to 8:00 A. M. and a corresponding increase in travel in the other directions in the late afternoon, seems to confirm what the schedules of factories in outlying districts showed, namely, that workers are traveling from the crowded portion of the city to work in industries in the outskirts rather than these industries are being supplied with workers from their neighborhoods.

IV. TYPES OF HOUSES THAT ARE POSSIBLE FOR INDUSTRIAL WORKERS TO OWN OR RENT.

There is no question but that the single family house of four to six rooms or the two family house of four to five rooms, of which we find such excellent examples in all of the industrial sections of the city, is still most desirable for sale or rental, but in considering the type of house in demand by wage earners, it is necessary to consider not what is the wage earner's ideal, but his necessity. To do this it is necessary to determine what he can pay and what he can get for his money. It is generally conceded that the workman who is purchasing a home will pay as high as 25% or 30% of his earnings in monthly payments. As a rule the workman can not today attempt to purchase a home unless he has his wages supplemented by those of the children or wife, and frequently the income is increased by an income from lodgers. This supplementing of the family income is what permits the worker to spend so high a proportion of his earnings in the purchasing of a home.

Houses that are owned by the occupants are for the most part one and two family frame houses of five and six rooms and bath, on a 40x120 foot lot, fifteen feet apart. In normal times, that is, 1914, these houses were valued at from \$2,500 to \$4,500 for the single house, and from \$3,500 to \$6,000 for the double house, depending, of course, upon the location and structure. Most of the houses that are owned by wage earners have been built by private companies and sold to the individual on the basis of 10% down and the balance in monthly payments of 1%. This means that wage earners whose annual earnings have been \$1,000 could afford to pay \$25.00 per month, or 30% of their earnings to acquire property, and at this rate of payment, based upon the above method of payment of 10% down and the balance in monthly payments of 1%, they could acquire property valued at \$3,000.

Property, the selling price of which has been \$3,000, and the monthly payments for which have been \$27.00, was, until 1914, considered a "best seller" by real estate men, but the house that in 1914 sold for \$3,000 would have to sell for \$4,500 today in order to bring the same return to the dealers as in 1914 because the cost of the labor and material has advanced 50% according to data furnished by the Material Dealers Association and representative contractors. If the house that could be bought for \$3,000 in 1914 costs \$4,500 today, the purchaser would have to pay at the rate of \$40.00 per month for this house if he bought it on the 10% down with 1% monthly payment basis. Even those whose earnings fall within the upper quartile of \$1,160 cannot afford such a monthly expenditure for housing.

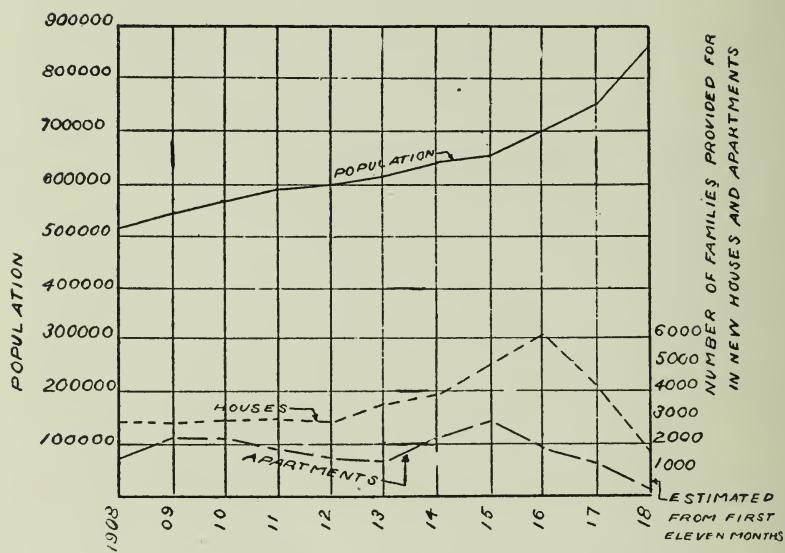
Increases in wages of the head of the family and the additional income from wages of wife and children have been absorbed in the 46.52% increase in the cost of living, so that the head of the family who was three years ago making a struggle to purchase a home, has today given up that attempt, and is now struggling to find rental property that is within his means without lowering his standard of living.

An investigation of supply and prices of rental property made by the Cleveland Real Estate Board in April, by sending questionnaires to all firms dealing with rental property, revealed the fact that more than 30% of the requests for rental property that have been received was for houses renting for \$30.00 and less, and for apartments renting for \$40.00 and less. The real estate men were unanimous in stating that the supply in this price of house and apartment was negative. So great is the demand for this type of property that a card in a window for a few hours is a sufficient rental agent and consequently this property is not even listed with real estate men.

Records of the Division of Building show that the curve of building of buildings of this grade, as well as all other grades, has been a steadily declining curve for three years. (See charts).

The worker is not, under existing conditions, able to build for himself, or to purchase at market prices. Private builders are finding it impractical and well nigh impossible to build because costs of material are so high and so difficult to procure and companies are not building because of the lack of capital available for this purpose. Therefore, as Division of Building records show, houses are not being built, and consequently the worker is finding it very difficult to secure rental property within his means without lowering his standard of living and there is not property for him to buy even if he could afford to buy during these times of excessive costs.

FAMILIES PROVIDED FOR
AND TOTAL POPULATION



V. AMOUNT OF HOUSING NEEDED

To determine the amount of housing needed it is necessary to determine the increase in population in the last three years and its relation to the amount of building. This is done in the following table:

A. ESTIMATED FROM DIVISION OF BUILDINGS AND DIVISION OF WATER.

COMPARISON OF GROWTH IN POPULATION WITH DECLINE IN AVAILABLE NEW HOUSING.

Year	Population Estimated from school census.	Increase over preceding year.	Percentage increase over pre- ceding year.	Number of families houseable in new buildings. (From records of Division of Buildings.)		
				Apartments & Tenements	Dwellings	Total
1915	718,796	57,507	8%	2,722	5,057	7,779
1916	776,303	47,044	6.1%	1,758	6,102	7,860
1917	823,347	32,684	4%	1,248	4,077	5,325
1918	856,031			*221	*2,100	*2,321

*Estimated.

Year	Number of persons houseable at ratio of 5 persons to one family	Ratio of persons house- able to persons added by increase in population during preceding year	Persons left un- housed (assuming all persons hous- ed in 1915.)
1916	39,300	68.5%	18,207
1917	26,625	56.5%	20,419
1918	11,605	35.5%	21,079

59,805

We find that we need housing accommodations for approximately 60,000 workers. Estimating on the government basis of 5 persons to a family, we would need approximately 12,000 single family houses.

See preceding and following Graphs, furnished by Building Department of the City of Cleveland, upon which estimates were based.

Another proof of the decrease in building of houses comes from the Division of Water, as shown in the following table:

YEARLY INCREASE IN WATER CONNECTIONS

1914-1915	3,403
1915-1916	5,194
1916-1917	6,591
1917-1918	*1,800

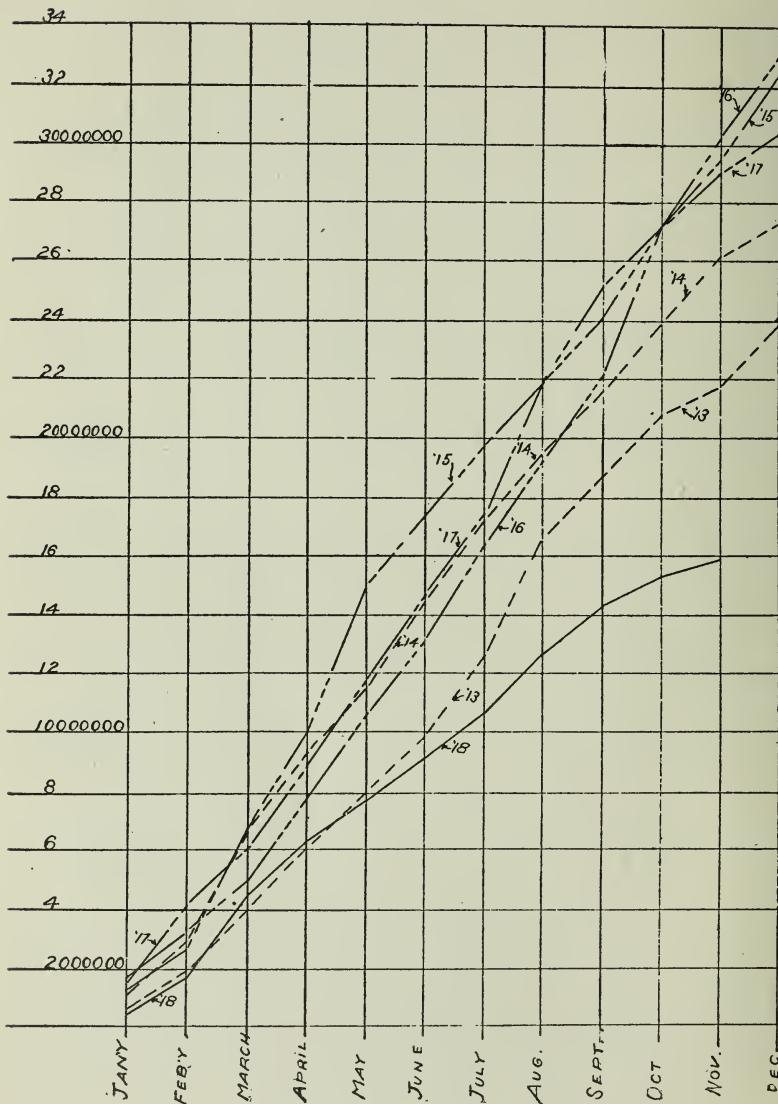
*Estimated.—October 1st 1,500.

The number of persons to be housed is probably more than 60,000 because of the workers who have come to Cleveland to take the places of the 40,000 men who have been called to arms. 35.3% are married men. 17.47% of them have brought their families. The 40,000 men who have gone have not vacated

COMPARISON OF
VALUE OF BUILDING PERMITS ISSUED
UP TO THE END OF EACH MONTH
FOR THE YEARS 1913 TO 1918 INCL

E. W. CUNNINGHAM

COMMISSIONER OF BUILDINGS



houses because if they were heads of families or sons living with parents, their families have been left. Their absence does not relieve the shortage of dwellings for families in any way. The 17.47% of those who came to take their places and brought their families with them render more acute the housing shortage. The others are living in lodgings and hence causing further congestion in lodging houses.

The factory schedules show that 76 wage earners stated that they could not bring their families here due to inability to get houses, and employers in 84 plants stated that they believed that workmen were not coming to Cleveland because of the difficulty to secure housing accommodations for their families. Individual factory schedules were received too late to include tabulations from one plant employing 4,285 which reported 1,724 employes who stated that they have experienced difficulty in finding homes.

B. AS DETERMINED BY THE HOUSE AND ROOM CANVASS.

The house and room canvass of the city was, as previously stated, conducted as a separate piece of work under different auspices, but the findings are included in this report because they so substantiate the report. The house and room canvass showed that there were, the first week in September 1918, 504 vacant houses and suites and 3,543 vacant rooms.

Both the location and the price of almost all of the vacant suites and houses indicate that they are neither desirable for wage earners insofar as they are not in those parts of the city where wage earners dwell, that is, near industry and in neighborhoods with certain nationalities predominating, nor within the range of price, practically all of them renting for more than forty dollars.

The first week of August the U. S. Homes Registration Service requested the post office of Cleveland to have the postmen make a count of all vacant houses and suites. The results showed 1,541 vacant houses and suites.

During the first week of September the canvass of vacant houses and suites was made under the direction of the Federal Representative for Cuyahoga County of the U. S. Homes Registration Service and showed, as above stated, 504 vacant houses and suites. A comparison of these two counts revealed only 22 duplicates, that is, vacant houses and suites that were reported in both counts. To understand such an amazing lack of duplication 731 of the houses and suites reported in the postmen's

count were revisited by thirty of the volunteers who had worked in making the canvass, and they reported as follows:

165 of the houses and suites are for rent.

35 of the houses are for sale only.

21 of the houses or suites are not located at address given.

34 of the houses are downtown and not available for working men.

4 of the houses reported are stores.

472 of the houses and suites are occupied.

In brief, only 27.2% of the number of houses and suites that were reported available for occupancy during the first week of August were available during the first week of October. This fact certainly indicates that whatever number of vacant houses there are in the city they are rapidly being occupied and that though there might be between 400 and 500 vacant houses and suites in the entire city, they will not remain the same for more than a month and of this number a small margin only are available for workmen.

The rooms to let have been tabulated according to the preference of the landlords as follows:

971 desire clerks.

1442 desire clerks or skilled mechanics.

285 desire skilled mechanics.

218 desire skilled mechanics or laborers.

163 desire laborers.

The rooms have also been tabulated on the basis of nationalities preferred by the landlord as follows:

American White	2,405	Italian	19
American Negro	91	Jewish	130
Austrian	31	Polish	44
Bohemian	45	Roumanian	9
Danish	3	Russian	15
English	162	Scotch	40
German	135	Slovak	6
Greek	3	Slovenian (Greiner)	13
Hollander	11	Slav	6
Hungarian (Magyar)	59	Other Non-English Speaking	67
Irish	179	Other English Speaking	70

The tabulation by nationalities indicates that the number of rooms that are available for foreigners that make up 75% of the population and a much greater percent. of the industrial population is practically negligible.

VI. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

We believe that this investigation has established the following outstanding facts:

First: The type of industrial housing in Cleveland is not as high as the standard set by the government for industrial war workers and not as high as we had heretofore believed the Cleveland standard to be. The standard of property maintenance, both as to repair and cleanliness, is not good, and sanitary equipment is inadequate and much of it is of antiquated type. There is unnecessary lot overcrowding, the median percentage of lot occupied being seventy-seven per cent., and the result is high fire hazard.

Second: There is a rapidly increasing tendency on the part of our industrial workers to live in tenements, 27.1% or more than one-fourth of them living in tenements or under tenement conditions. There is also distinct room overcrowding, 50% of the families having less than one room per person. Tenement conditions and overcrowing are two housing evils that a city which has every possibility of expansion both in territory and in transportation facilities might and should avoid.

Third: Rents are not high in terms of percentage of earnings spent in rent, but high in terms of value received as so many of the houses and suites within the range of price that workmen can afford are old and in a poor state of repair and sanitation.

Fourth: Home owning among industrial workers is on the decrease, 35% of the families in Cleveland owning their homes in 1910 and 13.8% of the wage earners owning their homes in 1918.

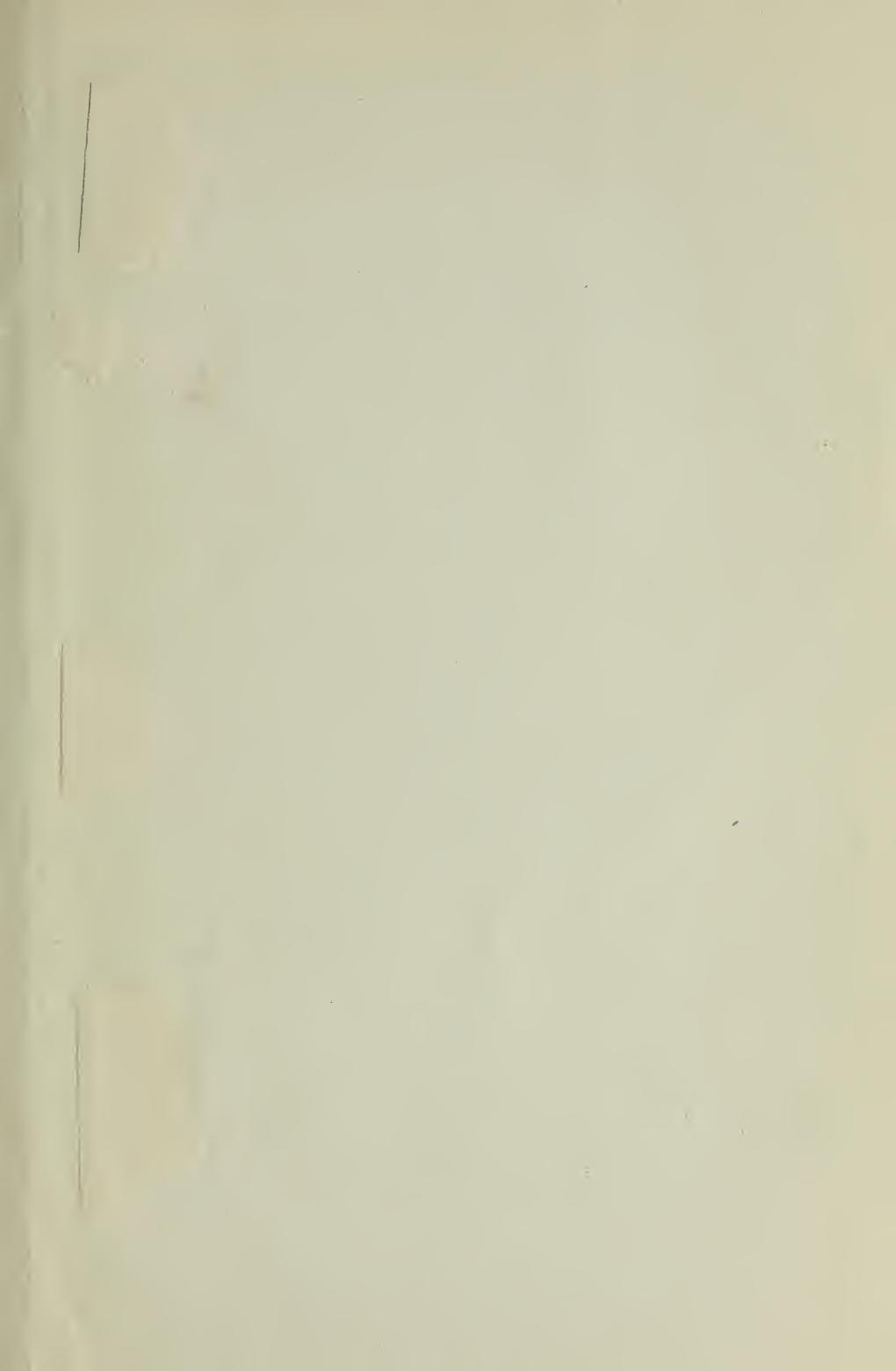
Fifth: The Negro industrial worker is not overcrowding more than the whites. He is, however, paying a much higher rent and is getting in return much poorer accommodations.

Sixth: 34.1% of the wage earners are lodgers. 35.3% of the lodgers are married. The number of workers who are lodgers is increasing much more rapidly than the number of workers who are members of families. The lodgers have been at present places of employment a much less time than have the members of families, showing that labor turnover is greater among the lodgers. Wage rates are the same for members of families and lodgers, but weekly earnings for members of families show that they work about one-half day per week more and about two days a month more than do lodgers, thus showing that there is more absenteeism among lodgers. An alarming lodger problem, a problem that affects the family by destroying the family unit, that complicates the social order by failure to establish homes, that lowers sanitary standards by overcrowding, and that de-

creases industrial production by contributing to absenteeism and turnover, is developing.

Seventh: There is an acute housing shortage, both in houses that the worker can afford to rent or purchase, and in rooms and suites that are available to provide even temporary quarters for the ever increasing industrial army that is pouring into our city. We need houses for at least 12,000 families, and we need improved, modern lodging houses to take the place of the fourteen miserable, unsanitary, overcrowded lodging houses that now house about 2,000 casual workers and transients in the downtown districts and for the many more of the foreign-speaking workers in the so-called foreign lodging houses and bunk houses.

We are forced to the conclusion that the housing problem can not be solved by private building enterprises under existing financial conditions; that the securing of adequate housing for workmen is one of the fundamental problems upon which should be exerted all the social and economic forces of the community. If workmen are to come to our city to man our industries, it is apparent that they must be housed by other means than those to which we have hitherto resorted. Either the community or the government must come to the rescue and provide houses that are within the range of price that the worker can rent or purchase, or through some control of resources make it possible to provide comfortable living accommodations for himself and family.





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